INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

The main aspects of relations between the various local groups have been considered in the previous section. Here we may mention certain cultural patterns which influenced the relations of individual members of one group with those of another.

It has been noted above in discussing the nature of social groups that an uru of more or less close blood relatives in the male line usually had living and migrating with them members of other blood groups. It is pertinent to consider their status more closely.

My informants said that if a man did not like his own uru he might go and live with another. This they seemed to think was true in more recent times but would not have been so "originally." However, even though he went to live with another group and joined their community, he would still be considered as belonging to the group into which he was born. He might then marry a girl of the uru among whom he was living but could not take a wife from the group to which he belonged by birth. Grodekov[1] expresses this by saying: "Transference from one tribe to another is not possible but living and migrating among a foreign tribe is permissable." Rudenko[2] observes that an immigrant to an alien group may be entitled to call himself by their name even though not related to them by blood, thus: "Kazaks coming from another tribe do not lose their tribal origin. For example an Argyn . . . who has joined the Karatai gens bears the name of Karatai but may nevertheless marry any Karatai girl."

I was not able to find any instances illustrating the uru affiliation of the children of such marriages. Tlenshiev said that technically they would be considered as belonging to their father's original group and a son would be permitted to marry into the uru among which he was born. But after a few generations "people would become confused" and the descendants of the original immigrant might come to be considered blood members of the group among which they were living.

[463] Several categories may be distinguished among those residing in the group who were not its blood members in the male line. The most numerous appear to have been composed of hired workers, servants and artisans. These were the people who, having little or no property of their own and no strong patron to support them, were obliged to make a precarious living by selling their services to others. They tended to become semi-permanently attached to the group, though sometimes they went off to seek employment elsewhere. The artisans, chiefly carpenters and blacksmiths, were rather more independent than the unskilled hired herdsmen, since their knowledge of a trade assured them of being able to make their way wherever they went. In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group of

[1] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.
[2] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59-60.

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Hiring out. - An object found. - Objects entrusted for safe-keeping. - Gifts. - Trade. - Debts. - The value of animals by customary law. - The transport of cargo on camels.

241 465 Among the agriculturalists there is a form of hiring of workers on shares. Well-to-do people give the worker sustenance and seeds and lend him their livestock, land and tools during the field work. The worker receives a remuneration from the harvest, depending on circumstances, of one-fourth to one-half. If there is no harvest, there is no remuneration.

463 465 In addition the hiring of servants (yalchi) exists, for 1) pasturing livestock (the shepherd is called kanchi, or specifically, koychi for sheep, dzhilkychi for a drove of horses, kelakhtachi for geldings), 2) for field labor (eginchi), 3) for domestic services (dzhigit, khyzmekter) and 4) for official errands (yasaul) for the volost official, the bii, etc. These servants or workers are hired by the year, or, rarely, by the month or the day. The servants receive pay either in full in advance, or half in advance and the remaining half after a certain period. In case of resignation by one side, an accounting is made by days and the worker returns to the employer anything extra he has received. The presence of witnesses when the conditions are drawn up is not obligatory.

466 The master calls his servant "balam" (my son), "adamym" (my man), or kuzim" (my eye). In accordance with this last appellation, the servant is obliged to avert losses, even though these may not be related to his specialty.

Servants are held responsible for intended (kasdan) damage which they cause. They are held responsible on a general basis for stealing from the master.

For damage and losses, resulting from neglect (bigamdiktan) and lack of watchfulness (khatadan), for example, breaking things, loss of a sheep, a servant does not pay, except in cases where the condition was made that he would pay.

/119/ A master may scold and even beat a hired servant up to three blows with a whip, with impunity. With the fourth blow the master is already considered in error (aybday), and after this the servant can complain. A servant dare not scold or beat his master under fear of being sentenced to pay an atton and to beg forgiveness.

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28 First among these is the making of articles of wool (sheep's wool and camel's hair), including felt, camel's-hair cloth, 286 woven tape, and cord. The camel's-hair cloth ("shekpek") is made of fine threads of sheep and camel wool. The weaving is [462] done exclusively by women (with the participation of two or three children). The loom, warp, etc. are prepared each time by a woman specialist. The camel's-hair cloth is used for clothing and in the economy (for bags, etc.). Decorative tapes of various widths ("bas-kur" and "uy-bau") are also woven from camel's wool. This work, when done by expert women, is not only neat and 287 clean, but also beautiful in design. Much felt is also made (from sheep wool) and finds a wide sale among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, as do all the above articles. Sometimes colored patterns are rolled out on the felt. The making of felt is most primitive. The wool is laid in layers on top of matting, rolled up in a tube, hot water is poured on it, and it is beaten on the ground. Ropes 283 are also twisted out of hair and wool. The Kirghiz /Kazak/, how- 286 ever, still do not know finer weaving. All the processes men- 462 tioned above are done only by women. Only occasionally do the men shear the wool from the animals.

• 463 The men work with leather, making shoes from it, and en- 282 gage in carpentry and metalworking. /Illustration appears here./ 327 The chief products of the latter are the framework (the kerege and 326 other parts) of the yurt and vessels, saddles, and vehicles -- the [462] arba /a two-wheeled wagon/ and the telega /four-wheeled wagon/, [294] the latter being produced only recently. The metalworkers en- 326 gage in the finishing of saddles, stirrups, and other parts of the harness. There are skilled appliers of silver and fine mosaic work (incrustation) on metal articles, in the fashioning of vessels and other objects of horn and ivory.

226 There is fishing among the /214/. Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the Zaisan and Chu regions and in part among the Ural Kirghiz 224 /Kazak/, but it is not of great importance for them. All Kirghiz 223 /Kazak/ have a passion for hunting, especially with a falcon or golden eagle, but less as a practical occupation than as an interesting sport and recreation. Hunting has a practical character for only a small part of the population.

[i.e. The domestic occupations of the Kazak --Analyst]

KN 233 includes one of the highest Kazakh proportions, more than 68 per cent.[3] Also, the regions where the Kazakhs are in the greatest majority have K [131] the lowest density figures—figures which fall in the herding range, below that found in farming areas.

KN [61] In industry, Russians occupy a predominant position, seconded by Ukrainians. The Kazakhs play only a tertiary role in industry and in K transport. Examination of honors lists shows that the proportion of KN Kazakhs among the recipients of honors in industry is far lower than ● 463 the proportion of Kazakhs in the population of their republic. The 464 Kazakhs are not participating to the extent of their population strength in the industrial and transport development. They are not learning the skilled crafts of industrialization which would possibly recompense them for having had their herding lands taken away from them. This does not necessarily mean that they are being discriminated against, although this is a possible explanation. A second possibility is that the Kazakhs themselves are not coming forward to be trained, that they withdraw from the Soviet scheme of things and wish to have no part of it. They do not have the background in technical culture to develop a skilled labor force on their own.

K 562 464 KN [42] Consideration of the division of labor by sex provides another perspective to this problem. The honors lists and lists of female workers in railroad journals (Turksib, organ of the Railroad workers of Kazakhstan) reveal how few Kazakh women there are in these fields. For instance, during World War II not a single Kazakh women was mentioned in the railroad field, despite the drawing away of men to the war. Rewards for building the Mointy-Chu line went to 46 Russians and Ukrainians, of whom 11 were women, and to 17 Turks, of whom one was a woman.[3] In the more highly advanced fields, such as the finance K [463] and credit system, there is an even more pronounced absence of Turks (Kazakhs) and especially of Turkic women. Medalists in the Alma-Ata region in the finance and credit field in 1953 were distributed as follows by nationality and sex:[4]

	Slavic	Turkic	Germanic	Korean
Men	16	3	1	2
Women	36	2	1	0

There were no Turkic names among the 39 scientific workers of the KSSR who received medals; 38 were Slavic, one Germanic.[5]

Again one must be careful to distinguish among the several factors which contribute to this state of affairs. On the one hand there is the picture of general nonparticipation by Kazakhs in Soviet developments. K The situation of Kazakh women is made worse by their age-old position; 562 women in Kazakh society have always had specified tasks to perform, and have taken their place behind the male leaders. The question of

[3] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia*, Vol. 13, 1953.
[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 30 Oct and 1 Nov 53.
[5] *Ibid.*, 18 Nov 53.
[6] *Ibid.*, 19 Nov 53.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
Kazakhstan RQ1

KN 496 long, running west of Lake Balkhash from Mointy to Chu,[1] and an east-west line, 546 kilometers (350 miles) long, connecting Akmolinsk and Pavlodar.[2] There are no railroad lines in southwestern Kazakhstan, presumably because the Caspian Sea is a more economical substitute. This solution may prove unworkable for the Soviets if the falling water level of the Caspian continues to isolate the northern and eastern ports from access to the sea.

Soviet criticism of Tsarist location theory for railroads in Central Asia applies equally to the Soviets themselves.[3] These lines are designed to integrate the sources of raw materials in Central Asia, including Kazakhstan, with the manufacturing centers of Russia. They are not primarily designed to aid the local population in meeting internal problems. Moreover, the political ties closely follow the railroad network. KN [361] Thus the capital of Kazakhstan was established at Kzyl-Orda in 1925 largely because it lay on the old Orenburg-Tashkent line, not because it was a great center of culture. On the contrary, it is inconceivable that the Soviet government, even in the 1920's with its modicum of laissez faire, would have supported as capital of the area a potential center of political crystallization. The capital was subsequently moved to Alma-Ata because it was the railhead of the Turksib at the time, and there the capital has remained.

K 463 The trend in the Soviet Union regarding the training of Kazakhs as skilled workers in railroading is parallel to that of the factory systems. The Kazakhs are not being trained in numbers proportionate to their relative strength in the republic. They are being excluded or, alternatively, they are not coming forth to be trained. Of 17 brigades honored for their contributions to the building of the Mointy-Chu line, which runs north-south to the west of Lake Balkhash and along the eastern edge of the Hungry Steppe, only five were led by Turks.[4] Yet the line runs K [311] through country which is marginally suitable for herding, and for little else; it is a region of Kazakhs. On the other hand, for the Akmolinsk-Pavlodar line in the north, which runs through country where the proportion of Kazakh population is relatively low, the recipients of honors bore Slavic (Russian and Ukrainian, one German) names typical of the local populations.[5]

KN 433 439 By way of conclusion, the following may be said of the industry in Kazakhstan: First, the republic is an important producer of raw materials (oil, coal, lignite, copper, lead, meat, wool, cotton, wheat, and tobacco). Second, most of these raw materials flow outside Kazakhstan to industrial centers of the USSR in European Russia and the Urals. (This type of flow—raw materials to manufacturing center, finished goods from center back to source of raw materials—is precisely what Soviet propagandists have always denounced as imperialism.) Third,

[1] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 27 Oct 53.
[2] *Ibid.*, 20 Dec 53.
[3] See unpublished doctoral dissertation by Holland Hunter on railroad systems of the Soviet Union (67).
[4] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 27 Oct 53.
[5] *Ibid.*, 20 Dec 53.

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the uneven commodity flow creates an unbalanced economy. The Kazakh republic is far from becoming economically self-sufficient. Fourth, the key to understanding the industrial picture in the KSSR is the total economic dependence of the Kazakhs on Russia for all consumer commodities. These include clothing, processed foods, furniture, and all electrical and electronic commodities, such as light bulbs and radios; motor supplies, automobiles, and the gas and lubricants necessary to run them; stoves and all other heating devices for using the coal and lignite the Kazakhs themselves produce.

KN [381]

A good example is afforded by the chemical industry. Kazakhstan has long been known for its riches in salts and other chemicals. In the 19th century, shortly after the annexation of the territory by Russia, a small-scale chemical plant was established at Chimkent. To this day, this remains the sole chemical-pharmaceutical plant in the entire republic, although it has been expanded under the Soviets.[1] The bulk of the chemicals are extracted as raw materials, shipped elsewhere for processing, and only then made available to Kazakhstan, within the framework of the general pattern for distribution of these materials.

KN [648]

Finally, it is clear that this economic dependence on Russia serves to reinforce Moscow's political control over the peoples of Kazakhstan.[2]

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The problem of manpower and the training of labor is central here. The industry of Kazakhstan, aside from the prerevolutionary mining centers, was established by means of forced labor camps at Karaganda, which during the 1930's was an NKVD area, and by the transfer of workers from Leningrad in the same period; during the war, workers from Moscow, Leningrad, and the Donbass were brought in for work in industry and mining. The Kazakhs have not participated in this industrial development. Very few industries requiring skilled labor have been established in Kazakhstan, and those few are based on a labor force derived from Russia and the Ukraine. The Kazakhs are not being introduced to the techniques which Russians are learning to master in the process of their industrial growth. The industrial picture confirms the conclusion drawn from the examination of the social and political scenes: The native Kazakhs are being encouraged by the Soviets to enter into industry, but they are not coming forward to be trained; they are holding back from participation in Soviet life.

K [463]

K [177] [668]

[1] Kuzaev, 1949.
[2] Belzak (6), 1949.